1803

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Mr. FRISBIE's

Eulogy, &c.

AN

EULOGY

ON THE

ILLUSTRIOUS CHARACTER

OF THE LATE

General George Washington,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ALL THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

Who died on Saturday, the 14th of December, 1799.

Delivered at Ipſwich, on the 7th day of January, 1800.

By LEVI FRISBIE, A. M.

Miniſter of the Goſpel in the firſt pariſh of ſaid town.

PUBLISHED BY DESIRE OF THE HEARERS.

The Righteous ſhall be in everlaſting remembrance.

DAVID.

He mourns the dead, who lives as they deſire.

YOUNG.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

General WASHINGTON's parental and affectionate ADDRESS to his Country, declining their future ſuffrages for the Preſidency.

Printed at Newburyport, by EDMUND M. BLUNT, 1800.

TO THE READER.

THE authors, of whoſe aſſiſtance the compoſer of the following Eulogy has availed himſelf, are Doctors Morſe, Ramſey, Young and Meſſire Flechier. He has marked the ideas, cited from theſe authors in their own words, with inverted commas ; but if the reader ſhould meet with other thoughts, as probably he may, ſelected from the ſame authors, but clothed in the compoſer's own language, and accomodated to his ſubject, he will give due credit for them to their original owners. The paſſages cited from the immortal *Waſhington*'s writings needed nothing to diſtinguiſh them but their own ſuperior merit.

An Eulogy on the late General George Washington.

II. Chron. xxxvth Chap. 24th and 25th verſes.

And all Judah and Jeruſalem mourned for Joſiah, and Jeremiah lamented for Joſiah, and all the ſinging men and ſinging women ſpake of Joſiah in their lamentations to this day.

THEIR mourning and lamentation were a ſuitable precedent for us on this ſadly ſolemn occaſion. The wiſeſt, the beſt and moſt amiable of men, like Joſiah, though their friends and countrymen wiſh and pray ever ſo earneſtly for their continuance, cannot live here forever.

It is the prerogative of *Him* who reigns in the Heavens, and governs all the ſtates and kingdoms of the earth, to raiſe up men of eminent talents and virtues to bleſs the countries to which they belong; and it is his prerogative to remove them at his pleaſure, as a correction for the errors and vices of their countrymen; and to teach them the vanity and uncertainty of thoſe riches, honors and pleaſures, they ſo fondly purſue. When men of ſuch excellent characters are given to a people, it is their duty to acknowledge the diſtinguiſhing gift of heaven with gratitude and praiſe; and when they are torn from them by a ſudden and ſurpriſing ſtroke, it becomes

comes them to lament the loſs of ſuch eminent benefactors with a ſorrow and humiliation, as deep and extenſive as the frown of heaven, and the loſs they have ſuſtained. What words have then an emphaſis ſufficient to expreſs the gratitude we owe to God for the gift of a WASHINGTON, and the anguiſh and lamentation of our country that its *illuſtrious Friend and Father is no more?* Yes, he was the Father of our country; raiſed up by the hand of gracious heaven to aſſiſt the birth, to nouriſh the infancy, to direct and defend the childhood of our new born empire: but alas! he is removed from his charge and left us, as deſtitute orphans to bewail our unſpeakable loſs! And yet he is not loſt; he lives, he greatly lives in the benefit and glory of his actions, in the veneration and affection of his grateful countrymen, and will live in the records of fame as long as liberty and virtue ſhall be reſpected and admired. The fragrant odour of his memory ſhall flow down the current of future generations, till they are loſt in the ocean of eternity.

Shall we not then, while we deeply deplore the melancholy event, be permitted to conſole the ſorrow of our hearts, and illumine the ſable cloud of our afflictions by contemplating his illuſtrious talents and virtues, celebrating the praiſe of his eminent and glorious ſervices and achievments, and holding him up to view as an example to all who are ambitious to excel, as a model for Warriors, for Stateſmen and Magiſtrates through all ages, in our own country and throughout the world?

To

To aſſiſt your minds in theſe ſadly ſolemn, but highly uſeful reflections, is the taſk aſſigned me on this intereſting occaſion—A taſk how honorable! and yet how delicate, how arduous; and, I had almoſt ſaid, how uſeleſs? For who is not acquainted with the deeds, the virtues of a Waſhington? Whoſe heart and mouth is not filled with his praiſe? Yet why ſhould it be deemed arduous and difficult to do juſtice to his merit, for who can think of his virtues and not catch from their influence ſuch an inſpiration, as well render him eloquent in Eulogiums to his memory? Certainly "no ſubject was ever more ſuſceptible of a ſolid and ſublime eloquence than the Life and the Death" of THE GREAT, *the immortal* WASHINGTON, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ALL THE AMERICAN ARMIES, PRESIDENT FOR MANY YEARS OF THESE UNITED STATES, AND LATE GENERAL AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ALL THEIR FORCES. "In what perſonage did ever the effects of moral, military, and political virtue ſhine with greater ſplendor, than in this renowned Chief? How ſtrikingly were they exhibited in the formation and conduct of armies, in bold encounters, honorable retreats and hard fought battles; in conquering his enemies by force, or waſting away their ſtrength and numbers by patience and addreſs;" in accepting, with a becoming diffidence, the higheſt offices his country could beſtow, in filling them with dignity, wiſdom and fidelity, in reſigning them with modeſty and moderation, in counſeling and adviſing the officers and ſubjects of government

to

to a courſe of conduct moſt wiſely adapted to ſecure their liberty, their harmony, virtue, dignity and proſperity to the remoteſt generations ? " Where can we find another ſo liberal, ſo diſintereſted, ſo devoted to the glory and happineſs of his country ; ſo great in adverſity by his courage, in proſperity by his modeſty, in difficulties by his prudence, in dangers by his valour, and in religion by his piety ?" But no *pen*, no *tongue*, but his own, could do juſtice to his merits ; yet *theſe* were always as ſilent in his own praiſes, as they are at this melancholy moment. Let then his *works*, and his *writings* ſpeak his juſt praiſes, theſe will be found the trueſt mirrour of his virtue, and his fame. Let us contemplate our beloved Hero engaged in the arduous labours of the cabinet and the field. But theſe are ſo vaſt, ſo complicated in their number and variety, that we know not where to begin, or where we ſhall be able to end—

Let us then recur to the time and the place at which he made his entrance on the ſtage of the world. The pariſh of Waſhington in the county of Weſtmoreland, and ſtate of Virginia, was the favoured ſpot, which, on the 11th of February old ſtyle, in the year 1732, gave birth to our illuſtrious Hero. Yes, he was a *pure* American ; he was born in our country ; his genius, his virtues, his actions, are all our own—

At an early age, he was deprived of his father's patronage, and the kind attention of his eldeſt brother, by their death, and left an object of watchful care and tenderneſs

to

to an affectionate mother. His genius needed not, like those of an inferior grade, the labored inſtructions, diſcipline and ſtimulus of a public univerſity, to call forth its energies, and ripen its improvement. Under the nurturing care of a private tutor, his active and penetrating mind was able to acquire thoſe principles and rudiments of knowledge and ſcience, which were neceſſary to prepare him for the diſcharge of thoſe high and important offices, he was, hereafter, to ſuſtain. What though he was not maſter of the language of Greece or of Rome; he was maſter of virtues and accompliſhments ſuperior to the nobleſt of their ſons—

When he was 15 years of age he entered as midſhipman on board a Britiſh veſſel of war, but was prevented taking poſſeſſion of the ſtation he had obtained, by the averſion of his mother to a profeſſion ſo unfavourable to his morals and his life. Thus an *Omniſcient Providence* prevented his becoming a ſkillful artiſt in hurling that Britiſh thunder, againſt whoſe bolts, he was deſtined to defend the lives and liberties of his countrymen. Having a firm and enterprizing ſoul, united to a healthful and vigorous body, neither corrupted nor inervated by the vices and exceſſes of youth, he was fitted to perform the duties, and endure the hardſhips of a life, devoted to the ſafety, the happineſs and glory of his country—

In the year 1753, when he was but little more than 21 years of age, he accepted and executed a miſſion to

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treat with the French and Indians at Fort Du Queſne, and to remonſtrate to the former againſt their encroachments upon the lands of our now weſtern territory. To accompliſh this miſſion, he had to paſs a wild and howling wilderneſs for ſeveral hundred miles, beſet with ſavage beaſts and more ſavage men; and to guard againſt the attacks of violence, and the arts of negociation; but with a conſciouſneſs of his own integrity, a modeſt confidence in his own abilities, and a humble reliance on the protection of divine Providence, he "executed the duties of a miſſion, ſo arduous and difficult, with ſingular induſtry, intelligence and addreſs"—

In the year 1755, we meet with our beloved Hero making a more conſpicuous entrance on the theatre of war; a theatre on which he was deſtined to ſhine hereafter with ſuch diſtinguiſhed glory. He began more decidedly to improve his mind in the practical knowledge of military ſervice in the office of Colonel of the Virginia provincial troops, under the orders and diſcipline of General Braddock. This gentleman was Britiſh commander of an expedition againſt the French forces at a poſt ſince denominated Fort Pitt; and though ſkillful in the ſcience and practice of war, he unwarily fell into an ambuſcade near the banks of the river Monongahela. He immediately drew up his troops in cloſe order of battle, thereby expoſing them, in open view, to the deadly fire of his enemies, conceal'ed and ſecured behind the logs and trees of the foreſt; who, though far inferior in num-

bers

bers to his own forces, cut them down by hundreds and by thouſands, and left them to lie unburied in the ranks in which they fell a prey to ſavage beaſts, and a perpetual monument of the utter inſufficiency of a commander who does not unite in his character prudence with courage, judgment and ſagacity with the art of war.

Col. Waſhington had the prudence and courage to defend the ſhattered remains of the routed army againſt the further attacks of their enemy, and to conduct their retreat to a ſtation of ſafety. And he doubtleſs had the wiſdom to profit by this fatal inſtance of inattention and temerity in his general, and to bear it on his mind, as an affecting caution to be forever on his guard againſt ſuch a diſaſtrous ſurprize and defeat. No inſtance, it is preſumed, can be found in the whole ſeries of his military operations, in which he preſented an advantage to his enemy, by unguarded ſecurity or intemperate raſhneſs. He knew when to *advance* and when to *retire*. No hazards or labours could deter him from engaging an enemy, when warranted by wiſdom and prudence: No provocations of his enemy, no cenſure from his profeſſed friends, no dread of diſhonour to his military character, could impel him to riſque a battle againſt the dictates of his own enlightened judgment: his foes might defeat his troops, but could never ſubdue their General: they might force him to retire, but could never take him by ſurprize. It was by a firm and reſolute perſeverance in this line of conduct, that he juſtly acquired the illuſtrious title of the AMERICAN FABIUS.

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And that we may be convinced how fully the truth of theſe obſervations was verified in his practice, let us paſs over in ſilence the other paſſages of his life, and haſten to that *eventful period*, when he was choſen *Commander in Chief of all the American forces.*

He was a member of the Congreſs which convened at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, in the year 1775: a year forever *conſpicuous* in the annals of American liberty. The ſword of Britiſh ſlaughter had already been drawn on the plains of Lexington, and dyed its guilty blade in American blood. An army had been haſtily aſſembled in the vicinity of Boſton, compoſed of the hardy ſons of liberty, whoſe courage, enthuſiaſtic zeal for the freedom and ſafety of their country, and their indignation againſt its lawleſs invaders were to ſupply the place of military experience, diſcipline, and the complicated apparatus of war. And ſoon after a detachment from this army gave to the Britons, at the battle of Bunker's hill, a terrible ſpecimen of their obſtinate valour, and taught them, by the wide extended ſlaughter which laid waſte the flower of their troops, to conſider the mighty expence of blood and treaſure, it would coſt them to conquer our country.

The appeal was now made to Heaven; the ſpirit of reſiſtance, through all the States, was blown to a flame, and the Congreſs was deliberating on the moſt ſuitable and neceſſary meaſures to concentrate and direct its force. One of the moſt obvious of which was the ap-

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pointment of a Commander in Chief. And GEORGE WASHINGTON, diſtinguiſhed by his eminent virtues and abilities, as the moſt ſuitable perſon for ſuch an arduous ſtation, was, on the 15th of June, 1775, *unanimouſly elected and appointed Commander in Chief of all the forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, for the defence of the colonies.* And ſuch was the public opinion of his virtues, that the choice was univerſally approved.

But what muſt have been the feelings of this *great* and *good* man at *this awful criſis?* He was fully apprized of the great naval and military ſtrength of Great Britain, the ſkill and courage of her troops, and her boundleſs reſources for war; "he knew that her fleets rode miſtreſs of the ocean, and that her flag had waved in triumph over the four quarters of the world." He knew that the Americans, though brave, were deficient in martial ſkill and experience, and almoſt entirely deſtitute of military ſtores and the neceſſary furniture for war. He knew that their armies muſt be at firſt but little ſuperior to an undiſciplined rabble, and that a ſeries of months and perhaps years, and an infinite expenſe of labour, of patience, and application muſt be employed to form them to ſuch diſcipline, ſubordination, and confidence as would enable them to take the field, with a proſpect of ſucceſs, againſt an army of veteran foes. He knew that if they ſhould fail of accompliſhing the great objects of their conflict, the yoke of ſlavery might be riveted forever on the necks of his dear countrymen, and himſelf with his

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principal aſſociates in this arduous enterprize might probably be ſacrificed to Britiſh policy or reſentment. What courage, therefore, what firmneſs, what confidence in the juſtice of his cauſe, what ardent affection for the liberty and ſafety of his country, what reliance on the protection of Heaven, muſt have inſpired his breaſt, to induce him to accept a command ſo full of difficulty, labour, and hazard? But under the influence of theſe noble principles, he did cheerfully accept it, though with unexampled modeſty, as may appear from his reply to the Preſident of Congreſs, announcing his appointment, in the following words: "Though I am truly ſenſible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great diſtreſs from the conſciouſneſs that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extenſive and important truſt. However, as the Congreſs deſire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I poſſeſs in their ſervice, and in ſupport of the Glorious Cauſe."

He proceeded to further expreſſions of a modeſt confidence, but with a caution not to entertain too exalted expectations of his ſucceſs, and then added: "As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to aſſure the Congreſs that, as no pecuniary conſideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment at the expence of my domeſtic eaſe and happineſs, I do not wiſh to make any profit from it; I will keep an exact account of my expences, thoſe I doubt not they will diſcharge, and that is all I deſire."

In theſe effuſions of a great and liberal mind, what an amiable combination do we ſee of magnanimity and modeſty, of a generoſity and courage, worthy of a Waſhington.

Immediately on receiving his commiſſion, he repaired to Cambridge and took the command of the army, already aſſembled at that place, and began to make ſuch arrangements and regulations, as were neceſſary to render it reſpectable and formidable to its enemies. And here he commenced in earneſt the arduous courſe of his military operations, hazards and toils. Minutely to detail them, is neither neceſſary nor poſſible. But could I form a miniature picture of the whole, or could I cauſe them to riſe up to your view, and paſs in rapid ſucceſſion before your eyes, I might point out our indefatigable Hero on the heights of Charleſtown, of Cambridge, of Roxbury, and Dorcheſter; on the latter I might ſhew you works riſing in one night, like an exhalation from the earth, to the ſurpriſe and terror of his enemies. I might ſhew you theſe enemies haſtily evacuating the town of Boſton, and ſpeeding their courſe to New-York. I might point out our watchful commander already at that poſt with his army, prepared to receive them, fortifying, contending, retiring, oppreſſed, but not dejected by diſappointments and defeats—I might preſent him to your wondering eyes, now fighting, and now retreating with maſterly addreſs beneath the covert of the night, and the miſty clouds of the morning, by which heaven concealed his movements from the view of the enemy,

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and exerting all the powers of his mighty ſoul to ſave his army and his country from that utter deſtruction, which ſeemed juſt ready to overwhelm them. I might invite you to notice the various emotions painted on his manly countenance, and the generous tear ſwelling in his eye, when he ſaw his beloved ſoldiers ſubjected to defeat, to capture, dejection and death. For his heart was full of ſenſibility, and though his paſſions were never permitted to controul his judgment, to dethrone his reaſon, or to derange the order and harmony of his ſoul; yet, as became a moral and a chriſtian hero, he indulged, as wiſdom and generoſity preſcribed, to the tender and benevolent *emotions* and *ſympathies* of his *heart*. Ready, whenever the duty of his ſtation, and the importance of his object required it, to expoſe his troops and himſelf to the labors and dangers of fighting and fatigue, yet was he never prodigal of their ſtrength or of their lives; not a man of them was ever ſacrificed to his own perſonal honor or fame; not a drop of their blood was ſhed but for the ſervice and benefit of his country. His ſoldiers were his children and friends, they loved, they revered, they adored him as the beſt of fathers, and the greateſt of men. His voice was their oracle, and his word was their law—Yet all their love and veneration for their leader, all their zeal for the liberty and happineſs of their country, could not always render them firm and undaunted in the face of their enemies—Hence that ſtorm of conflicting paſſions, which, on his retreat from New-York, for a moment, harrowed up his ſoul, magnanimous as it was, when he

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ſaw the dejection, the deſertion, and diminution of his army, and beheld at one view the dreadful horrors which muſt inevitably follow their total defeat and deſtruction. But this conflict was but the agonizing effort of honor, courage, and patriotiſm ſwelling and ſtruggling with mighty energy to drive back that formidable engine of hoſtile power and violence which ſeemed juſt ready to cruſh his beloved country; and, when deſerted by others, to ruſh forward, and like another Sampſon, with his own ſingle arm, to ſhake and tumble it to the ground, though at the hazard of burying himſelf in the wide-ſpreading ruins of its fall. But how ſoon did theſe paſſions ſubſide into a calm ſubmiſſion to the diſpoſals of Providence, and a determined reſolution to defend the cauſe in which he had embarked to the laſt extremity, and never to deſert it, while one man could be found to aſſiſt him in its ſupport? ſo that when he was aſked where he ſhould make a ſtand? he coolly, but ſignificantly replied, "Beyond the Allegany mountains, if we are not able to do it before"—Behold him, therefore, retreating through the Jerſeys with an handful of troops, deſtitute of tents, of cloathing and of almoſt every convenience neceſſary to ſhield them from the rigid ſeverities of the ſeaſon; their unſhod, wounded feet marking their footſteps with blood; ſcorned by their enemies, deſerted by their friends, and ready to be overwhelmed with an ocean of ſurrounding evils and enemies; yet under the preſſure of this mighty load of complicated ſufferings and dangers, his *heart is a ſtranger*

to timidity or deſpair. Conſcious of the rectitude and purity of his own principles, confident in the juſtice and magnitude of his cauſe, and relying on the protection of that providence, which had hitherto preſerved himſelf and his country from utter ruin; he waited, in the employment of every practicable meaſure, and every poſſible exertion, for the favourable moment which ſhould arreſt and roll back the headlong current of his affairs.

And behold that favourable moment is happily realized when, on the 25th of December, '76, our *immortal Commander*, having recruited and marſhaled his little army on the Pennſylvania bank of the river Delaware, recroſſes that river, clogged with ice, in the darkneſs of the night, and in the very teeth of the cold driving tempeſt of ſnow and hail, attacks, kills and captures above nine hundred Heſſians ſtationed at Trenton, and retires with his priſoners in ſafety and triumph! Behold, a few days after, the enemy coming down upon him, at the ſame Trenton, like an angry lion, ſeeming to have encircled him within the graſp of his paws, and lying down to reſt for the night, ſecure of his prey, when the cold piercing wind of favouring heaven blowing from the north and congealing the ſpongy earth to the hardneſs of a pavement beneath the feet of his troops, (for the elements fought for *Waſhington*) he, with a maſterly addreſs, by a ſecret, rapid and circuitous march, gains the rear of the enemy, attacks, defeats and captures their troops at Princeton, and retires in ſafety, before the enemy, amazed and embarraſſed, could arrive to revenge the unexpected diſaſter!

In this rencounter, our valiant hero diſplayed a ſpirit of daring intrepidity apparently bordering on raſhneſs, by expoſing his life, in a critical moment when his troops began to give way, to the moſt imminent danger; but well he knew, that it would be no temerity to hazard a life, however precious, at ſuch an intereſting criſis, when a failure of ſucceſs would render it uſeleſs to his country, and liable to be doomed a ſacrifice to an ignominious fate—The deadly balls of the enemy, being turned aſide by an inviſible hand from *his* breaſt, drove on with indignant fury and pierced the gallant boſom of the much lamented Mercer.

These brilliant operations and ſucceſſes, though by no means deciſive, yet ſurpriſed and confounded the enemy, and were to the army and the country like life from the dead—And by ſetting in motion the ſprings of univerſal activity and enterprize, produced conſequences of the utmoſt utility and importance.

But all theſe conſequences did not immediately follow. For, in the ſucceeding year of '77, at Brandywine, at Germantown, at Ticonderoga, and at other places, which need not be mentioned, defeat and diſaſter attended the operations of our arms.

For the character and example of our beloved hero were not to be compleated by a ſhort courſe of victories and ſucceſſes, and then to ſink, like a blazing meteor,

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into the ſhades of darkneſs and oblivion. His divine maſter was forming him in the ſchool of adverſity to a ſpirit of reſignation, patience and piety, preparing him to act a part of diſtinguiſhed dignity and uſefulneſs in future eminent ſtations, and to exhibit a ſhining example of virtue and goodneſs to warriors and ſtateſmen, and even to perſons of every rank in life, to all future generations—In the greateſt extremity of his misfortunes, and the loweſt depth of his dipreſſion, Congreſs was ſo intirely ſatisfied with his abilities and conduct, and placed ſuch a perfect reliance on the wiſdom, vigour and uprightneſs of his principles and operations, that they veſted him with powers, the moſt ample, compleat, and extenſive in regard to the appointments, arrangements and proceedings neceſſary to the proſecution of the war—This ponderous weight of care and reſponſibility he willingly aſſumed with a ſingle view, as we have the fulleſt reaſon to believe, to the preſervation and eſtabliſhment of the liberty and independence of his country—And hence it was that, far ſuperior to thoſe ignoble paſſions of envy and regard to perſonal honour and applauſe, which have ſometimes had too much influence on minds, otherwiſe, in a degree, great and generous, he rejoiced in the ſucceſs and victory of generals acting at a diſtance under his own orders, or thoſe of Congreſs, as cordially as if they had been his own—With what gladneſs did he hear that the cool, ſteady, and ſagacious courage and conduct of General Green, had contended againſt his noble antagoniſt with ſuch energy and effect, as to leave him only

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the empty name and honor of a victory, without permitting him to reap any ſolid advantages from it? With what lively ſatisfaction and triumph did he welcome the intelligence, that, the northern army under the direction of General Gates, inſpired by the headlong courage of Arnold, and the diſpaſſionate intrepidity of Lincoln, had been crowned with the compleat ſucceſs of capturing General Burgoyne with his whole army? Perhaps his generous heart ſwelled not with more grateful emotions at the decided ſuperiority of his own troops over the forces of Britain at the battle of Monmouth, on the 28th of June, '78, when he had the unſpeakable pleaſure of realizing the fruits of his indefatigable activity and diligence in forming them to ſuch a perfection of military diſcipline, courage and ſkill, that they were able ſucceſsfully to contend with the braveſt ſoldiers in the world.

But paſſing over in ſilence a variety of intereſting events and operations; omitting to mention the deteſtable plot, and vile defection of an Arnold, which have branded his name with everlaſting infamy; and to expatiate on the compaſſionable fate of the hapleſs and generous Andre, and the painful regret which wounded the heart of our benevolent hero under the imperious neceſſity of putting that amiable youth to an untimely and diſhonorable death; we haſten on to the cloſing and crowning operation of this long and calamitous war. The capture of Lord Cornwallis with his whole army, at York-Town, on the 19th of October, 1781, by the united

ted forces of America and France, afforded the moſt lively ſatisfaction to the heart of our beloved hero, not only as it witneſſed a decided ſuperiority of his troops over thoſe of the enemy, and crowned them and their General with never-fading laurels of victory and glory, but more eſpecially as it furniſhed ample ground of hope, that this long and diſaſtrous war would ſoon be concluded by an honourable and laſting peace: a peace which would forever ſecure to united America her Liberty, her Sovereignty and Independence—The happy event of ſuch a peace, which had been the object of all the wiſhes and efforts of our hero, and which terminated his military career with felicity and glory, was compleated on the 3d day of September, 1783. An event, the bleſſings of which would probably never have been realized by the States of America, had it not been for the talents and virtues of their ineſtimable Waſhington. It was an event, however, of which the happy fruits were in danger of being blaſted by the officers of the American army, when they diſcovered that they were to be diſcharged without receiving that compenſation for their ſervices, which they juſtly expected, and by the meaſures which their reſentment at ſuch unworthy treatment, excited them to purſue, for obtaining ſatisfaction to their juſt demands.

In this moſt difficult and delicate conjuncture, all the powers and virtues of our hero's ſoul were called fourth to a new train of objects and exertions. But inſtead of availing himſelf of the diſcontent and reſentment of the

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army to uſurp the powers of government, and render himſelf the ſovereign maſter of his country, a conduct to which an ambitious and aſpiring mind would probably have been prompted, he employed the whole influence of his authority and addreſs, and of his intereſt in the affections of his officers, to calm their paſſions and to ſatisfy their minds that juſtice would be done them by their much indebted country.

THIS noble effort of juſtice and benevolence to his military friends, and of reſpect and affection to the liberties and conſtituted authorities of his country, ever ſacred and dear to his heart, was compleated in his farewell orders, in which, with all the dignity of a commander, and all the piety and affection of a father, he gave the moſt ſalutary advice to his officers, and bid them a long and affectionate adieu.

As theſe orders breathe an ardent and amiable ſpirit of wiſdom and goodneſs, of generous affection to his army and his country, and of piety to his God, I cannot forbear citing a paragraph or two from ſuch an excellent performance, as ſtrongly expreſſive of the genuine character of his heart—

"A CONTEMPLATION" (ſays the venerable Chief) "of the compleat attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended, againſt ſo formidable a power, cannot but inſpire us with aſtoniſhment and gratitude. The diſad-

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vantageous circumſtances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The ſingular interpoſitions of Providence in our feeble condition were ſuch as could ſcarcely eſcape the attention of the moſt unobſerving, while the unparalleled perſeverance of the armies of the United States, through almoſt every poſſible ſuffering and diſcouragement, for the ſpace of eight long years, was little ſhort of a ſtanding miracle." "And the General being now to conclude with theſe laſt public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a ſhort time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has ſo long had the honour to command; he can only again offer in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample juſtice be done them here, and may the choiceſt of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend thoſe who under the divine auſpices have ſecured innumerable bleſſings for others.

"WITH theſe wiſhes and this benediction, the Commander in Chief is about to retire from ſervice. The curtain of ſeparation is drawn, and the military ſcene to him will be cloſed forever."

Now from this general review of a long and complicated ſeries of operations and events, various, intereſting and extending from one extremity of United America to the other, to Canada, to the ocean, and to the kingdoms of the European world, muſt we not be led to form

Ipswich, Massachusett

form the moſt enlarged and exalted idea of the genius, the talents and virtues of our moſt excellent Chief? Of that invincible fortitude and courage which could ſuſtain his mind under ſuch an accumulated load of labor and diſappointments? Of that amazing penetration, force of judgment, and ſtretch of thought, which enabled him to look through ſuch an endleſs variety of affairs, to give direction to ſuch a multitude of movements, and to deviſe plans and meaſures for carrying into execution ſuch vaſt and numerous deſigns? The weight of our riſing Empire was laid upon his ſhoulders, and he became the principal pillar in ſupporting the liberty, the independence, the honour and ſafety of our weſtern world.

Let no honeſt and ſcrupulous, but erring mind, let no heart, attempting to diſguiſe far different ſentiments under the ſpecious covering of humility and piety, cenſure the honours we pay to his memory as far tranſcending the merit of a mortal; and tax us with idolatry in paying an homage to his virtues, which is due only to the perfections of his God. For we religiouſly avow, and wiſh to have it forever underſtood, that we devoutly acknowledge his whole bright aſſemblage of abilities, virtues and achievements, to have been given him from Heaven in tenderneſs and mercy to theſe United States; and to that original, inexhauſtible fountain of being and happineſs, our unfeigned tribute of gratitude and praiſe, is, and ought to be ultimately, paid. Of this our humble

Washington was himself deeply sensible; this he devoutly and uniformly confessed. And by a singular humility and modesty, which, while it depressed and annihilated his virtues and services in his own eyes, exalted them in the eyes of God and man, he, for a long time, confounded the malignant eye of Envy, and awed to silence her slanderous tongue.

Thus our beloved hero, having finished the numerous and arduous labors of his military life, having resigned his commission with a solemnity and dignity, and with expressions of gratitude and piety becoming a general and a christian, retired to the favourite pleasures and employments of rural and domestic life.

And here, if time would permit, we might view him exercising, in the shades of retirement, all the mild and amiable virtues of the gentleman, the citizen, the husbandman, the companion, the master, the husband and the friend.

But from these domestic and rural enjoyments, ever inestimably dear to his heart, he was soon called forth by his affectionate and admiring country to a new series of arduous and important labors. Chosen as a delegate, and elected to preside in a convention assembled at Philadelphia, in the month of May, 1787, for the purpose of forming a constitution of government for the United States, he contributed the whole force of his political

knowledge

knowledge and experience to the accompliſhment of that deſign. And when it was compleated and ratified by a large majority of the ſtates in the union, the wiſdom, the gratitude and eſteem of his countrymen led them to elect him, by their unanimous ſuffrages, to preſide as their ſupreme magiſtrate, and to carry into execution that conſtitution of government, which his talents and virtues had aſſiſted to form. He entered upon the arduous work of this difficult and delicate adminiſtration on the 30th day of April, 1789, at the city of New-York. "The ceremony of his inauguration (ſays a celebrated writer) was performed in the open gallery of Federal Hall, in the view of many thouſand ſpectators—The oath was adminiſtered by Chancellor Livingſton—Several circumſtances concurred to render the ſcene unuſually ſolemn—The preſence of the beloved Father and Deliverer of his Country—The impreſſions of gratitude for his paſt ſervices—The vaſt concourſe of ſpectators—The devout fervency with which he repeated the oath, and the reverential manner in which he bowed to kiſs the ſacred volume—Theſe circumſtances, together with that of his being choſen to the moſt dignified office in America, and perhaps in the whole world, by the unanimous voice of more than three millions of enlightened freemen, all conſpired to place this amongſt the moſt auguſt and intereſting ſcenes which have been exhibited on the theatre of this globe."

And who, with any appearance of reaſon or juſtice, can venture to aſſert, that the progreſs of his whole adminiſtration

miniſtration was not anſwerable in wiſdom, fidelity, and integrity to the grandeur, ſolemnity, and piety of this commencing act? To attempt a particular detail of the moſt important meaſures and tranſactions of this adminiſtration, to ſpecify the particular diſplays of prudence, impartiality, firmneſs, and political ability, exhibited by the Preſident, in times the moſt trying and critical, amidſt the intrigues and colliſions of contending parties and rival intereſts, and the dangerous and deluding influence of foreign powers and domeſtic factions, would be a taſk as far exceeding my abilities, as the bounds allotted to the preſent performance.

But can any perſon, even of a moderate ſhare of conſideration, candour and judgment, ſuſpect that this *great man* was drawn forth from a retreat, which *he aſſures* us himſelf, he had choſen with the fondeſt predilection, and in his own flattering hopes, with an immutable deciſion, as the aſylum of his declining years; a retreat that was rendered every day more neceſſary, as well as more dear to him by the addition of habit to inclination, and of the frequent interruptions in his health to the gradual waſte committed on it by time—can any perſon believe that this great man was thus drawn forth to aſſume a ſtation of the higheſt labor, difficulty and reſponſibility, by any other motives than a veneration and love for the voice of his country, and a pure and ardent zeal for the promotion of her deareſt intereſt, honour and happineſs? And will not every one acknowledge that, from the long

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experiment which had been made of his virtues and abilities, they muſt have juſtly appeared to his countrymen more equal to the truſt he conſented to aſſume, than thoſe of any of his compatriots ?

Did he nominate and appoint to ſtations of ſuperior importance men whoſe political ſentiments he knew to be different from his own ? This was an expreſſion of the independence and impartiality of his heart, and was done from a generous preſumption, ariſing from his own conſcious integrity, that they would be influenced by a ſacred regard to the honour and happineſs of their country, and would ſacrifice their own private ſentiments to the public good.

And will it not be acknowledged by every candid mind, that he clearly underſtood, and faithfully conſulted the benefit of his country, in taking, decidedly, a neutral ſtation with regard to the contending powers of Europe, and in ſtudiouſly avoiding the calamity of being involved in the diſtracting politics and deſtructive wars of the European Nations : and that while he ſtrenuouſly cultivated the friendſhip of each, he was religiouſly faithful and aſſiduous to acknowledge the claims, reſpect the rights, and promote the intereſt and honor of all ?

If his talents, his meaſures and exertions, were, in any inſtance, ineffectual to the execution of a taſk ſo arduous and difficult, where is the man whoſe talents

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and meaſures would have ſecured ſucceſs? And if, in ſome inſtances, he was not ſo happy as to gratify his own wiſhes in ſatisfying the deſires and expectations of all his countrymen, ſuch a failure cannot be ſtrange; to have avoided it, muſt have baffled the powers of an angel, and never can be imputed to the want of ability or virtue in a man. And as his conduct in the adminiſtration of Government was full of dignity and excellence, ſo unexampled an evidence of his modeſty and moderation was exhibited in his voluntary retirement from the higheſt ſtation and firſt honors of his country to the comparative ſilence and obſcurity of a private life. And his affectionate zeal for the honor and happineſs of his countrymen, in preſent and future generations, was diſplayed in that admired Legacy of moral and political wiſdom and exhortation, which he bequeathed to them immediately before his retirement.

One act more was neceſſary to compleat his character, and to crown his moral, political and military virtues and glories with that height of perfection, to which they were deſtined to arrive. And *that act* he performed by a cheerful acceptance, from the hands of our moſt worthy Preſident, of an appointment to the office of *General and Commander in Chief* of all the armies raiſed, or to be raiſed, for the ſervice of the United States—A principal deſign of raiſing theſe armies, being to repel the apprehended attacks or invaſions of a powerful and inſidious enemy; the General had "the boundleſs field

field of public action, inceſſant trouble and high reſponſibility," which ſuch a deſign muſt comprehend, fully in view; and his letter to the Preſident, announcing his acceptance, is altogether worthy of himſelf. It breathes the warmeſt ſentiments of love to his country, the fulleſt approbation of the firm, but pacific meaſures of government, a juſt and dignified indignation againſt the baſe and inſidious treatment of it, by its enemies, and a determined reſolution to oppoſe, with all his powers, their unrighteous and hoſtile deſigns.

" It was not poſſible," ſays he, for me to remain ignorant *of* or indifferent *to*, recent tranſactions." Theſe tranſactions he particularly recites, and then adds: Theſe " could not fail to excite in me correſponding ſentiments with thoſe my countrymen have ſo generally expreſſed in their affectionate addreſſes to you. *Believe me, Sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wiſe and prudent meaſures of your adminiſtration. They ought to inſpire univerſal confidence. Satisfied therefore that you have ſincerely wiſhed and endeavoured to avert war, and exhauſted to the laſt drop the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the juſtice of our cauſe; and may confidently truſt the final reſult to that kind providence who has heretofore, and ſo often, ſignally favored the people of the United States.*"

" Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every perſon, of every deſcription to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and eſpecial-

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ly in a moment like the preſent, when every thing we hold dear and ſacred is ſo ſeriouſly threatened ; I have finally determined to accept the commiſſion of commander in chief of the armies of the United States."

Yes, ye ſons of America, ye officers and ſoldiers, who have enjoyed the happineſs and glory to ſerve under his unrivalled command in former years of your country's danger, and are indiſſolubly attached to him by the ſtrongeſt ties of gratitude, veneration and love—Your beloved general had determined again to clothe himſelf in armour, and to expoſe that venerable head, now grown grey and ſacred with labours, with years and with honors, to the hazards of the hoſtile field, in defence of the liberty, the religion, the independence and glory of his country.—How did your hearts exult in the proſpect ? How did you already anticipate, in your imaginations, the idea of ſucceſs and victory ? How did you ſeem to behold the defeat of your enemies, and the terror and confuſion which ſeized upon their ſouls at the very ſight of your Waſhington !

But how can I venture to rouſe you from the Reverie of this pleaſing dream ? The God of armies had appointed him to a conflict of a far different kind. To contend with the only enemy by whom he could be vanquiſhed.

Death !

"Death! great proprietor of all, 'tis thine
To tread out Empires and to quench the Stars!"
Thine all-ſubduing, unrelenting hand
Has laid our precious Hero in the duſt!
How deep the wound infix'd in every heart?

THE ſighs of ſorrow are as ſincere as his virtues, and as extenſive as his fame—Our churches are hung with ſables, and every object ſeems clad with a garment of wo—The countenances of the young and the fair have loſt their ſmiles; their faces are covered with a gloom, and their eyes ſuffuſed with tears—Children liſp the praiſes of Waſhington, and weep that he is dead—The hardy boſoms of ſtateſmen and warriors are ſoftened with grief, and their manly eyes do not diſdain to pour a tribute of tears on the grave of their own and their country's father and friend—Virtue and religion lament the loſs of their favourite ſon—And were any ſo obdurate as not to lament it, they might expect that the plains, the foreſts and the rocks, which have witneſſed his virtues and achievments, would reproach their ſtupidity by burſting into ſighs and groans!

AND have not all the children of America reaſon to tremble at the frown of Heaven, and look forward with anxious preſages to the calamities which may ſucceed ſo doleful an harbinger? Should not each one lay his hand on his heart, and aſk himſelf; Whoſe ſin has done this execrable deed? *Was it mine? Was it my ſin which has ſlain the father of my country? O let me tear the execrable murderer forever from my heart*—And let me look to that

gracious and holy Saviour, with penitence and hope, who calls me, in theſe loud accents of mingled diſpleaſure and mercy, to be humble, to reform, and to imitate, to the utmoſt of my power, the virtue and the piety of that venerable man, whoſe death I ſo juſtly deplore—For though I ſhall never be able to reſemble their magnitude, yet I may hope to imitate their ſincerity.

And thoſe virtues, and eſpecially that humble and unaffected piety, which was the baſis and parent of them all, and which elevated, adorned and ſanctified his other illuſtrious talents, accompliſhments, and ſervices, may not only ſerve as an example for imitation, but prove a ſource of conſolation to our wounded ſpirits. We may be conſoled with the animating conſideration, that death has only laid his *mortal clay* to ſleep for a ſeaſon in the ſilent tomb; but that every thing uſeful, amiable and venerable in his capacious ſoul, lives, and will live and flouriſh for ever in the happy climes of immortality—

And theſe ſuggeſtions are not the incenſe of cuſtomary flattery, offered on the altar of an illuſtrious Tomb.—For thoſe, who had the moſt intimate knowledge of the ſentiments of his heart, and the actions of his private life, aſſure us, that he was a ſerious and exemplary believer of the truths and precepts of our holy religion; that he was, ſo far as their obſervations could determine, a conſtant and humble performer of the duties of ſecret retirement and devotion; and that, in all the trying ſcenes and conjunctures of difficulty and diſtreſs, with which he was called to encounter, he undoubtedly had

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recourſe to God by prayer for ſupport, defence and direction. Hence we more eaſily account for the uniform conſtancy, dignity and excellence of his character, which, like the face of Moſes, ſhone with an amiable and venerable luſtre derived from his ſecret intercourſe with God: and for the ultimate, ſignal ſucceſs of his great deſigns, ſeeing, for their accompliſhment, he had engaged the alliance and aſſiſtance of heaven. And this ſpirit of piety and devotion was evident in his humble and devout attendance on the ſacred ordinances of public worſhip and religion. A ſolemn acknowledgment of the ſupreme dominion of the moſt High, of conſtant dependence on his allwiſe and powerful Providence, and of great obligations to his infinite goodneſs and mercy for all public and private benefits, were frequently introduced, with marks of cordial ſincerity and ſatisfaction, into ſuch public acts, orders, and addreſſes as were of a nature properly to admit of ſuch an acknowledgment—In the ſpeech which he delivered to the firſt Congreſs, under the new Conſtitution, he ſays :—" It would be peculiarly improper to omit in this firſt official act my fervent ſupplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the univerſe, who preſides in the Councils of Nations, and whoſe providential aids can ſupply every human defect ; that his benedictions may conſecrate to the liberties and happineſs of the people of the United States, a government inſtituted by themſelves for theſe eſſential purpoſes, and may enable every inſtrument employed in its adminiſtration, to execute with ſucceſs the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I aſſure myſelf that it expreſſes

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your ſentiments not leſs than my own ; nor thoſe of my fellow citizens at large leſs than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the inviſible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every ſtep, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent Nation, ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed by ſome token of providential agency. And in the important revolution juſt accompliſhed in the ſyſtem of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary conſent of ſo many diſtinct communities, from which the event has reſulted, cannot be compared with the means by which moſt Governments have been eſtabliſhed, without ſome return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future bleſſings which the paſt ſeem to preſage. Theſe reflections ariſing out of the preſent criſis, have forced themſelves too ſtrongly on my mind to be ſuppreſſed. You will join with me, I truſt, in thinking there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free Government can more auſpiciouſly commence." In a following paragraph he adds :—" There is no truth more thoroughly eſtabliſhed, than that there exiſts in the economy and courſe of nature, an indiſſoluble union between virtue and happineſs ; between duty and advantage ; between the genuine maxims of an honeſt and magnanimous policy, and the ſolid rewards of public proſperity and felicity. And we ought to be no leſs perſuaded that the propitious ſmiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that diſregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itſelf has ordained."

Bold and uncharitable indeed muſt be the lips, which will dare to inſinuate, that, conſidering the man, and the magnitude of the occaſion on which he uttered theſe ſentiments, they are not the effuſions of a truly pious and magnanimous heart.

And thoſe, who were ſpectators and witneſſes of the ſolemn ſcene of his laſt and expiring moments, aſſure us, that they bore an exact correſpondence to the auguſt and amiable tenor of his preceding life and actions; that his ſoul was patient, ſerene, and undaunted at the approach of death, *that he cloſed his mouth and eyes with his own hand, and expired without a ſtruggle and without a groan!* O! bleſſed man! How haſt thou fled forever from our ſight? But thy righteous name ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance! Yet what is that to thee, if thou art fallen proſtrate, ſunk and loſt forever beneath the inexorable hand of fate? But *can* we, *can* we *ever* believe that the *Man*, the *Chriſtian*, the *Hero*, the *Saviour*, the *Father*, the *Boaſt* and *Delight* of his country; the *bright aſſemblage of every amiable aud exalted virtue, the example of goodneſs and greatneſs* to the Citizen, the Soldier, the Stateſman and the General; *the favourite of his friends, the terror of his enemies, the glory of his ſpecies and the admiration of the world*; *can* we believe that *he* has ſunk into the dreary *abyſs of eternal nothingneſs and oblivion?* Can we believe that the man, whom many millions of his fellow-citizens lament with ſighs of undiſſembled ſorrow, whom thouſands of ſurviving military aſſociates remember with reverence and love, and deplore with vivid emotions of

painful

painful regret, *is forgotten by his God?* And forever loſt in "the common maſs of matter never dignified with life?" If we could but ſuſpect, that ſuch were his *myſterious Deſtiny*, our tears might flow forever without hope of ſolid alleviation to our diſtreſs—Even his guardian angels might be ſuppoſed to weep over this *deſtiny* of their late delightful charge!

But they *do* not, they *need* not weep; for *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity* ſaw them, though inviſible to mortal eyes, ſtanding in the attitude of ſuſpence, and waiting, with ſolemn expectation, around his dying bed; they beheld them receive his immortal ſpirit, when ſet at liberty from the ruins of its body, beneath the friendly covert of their wide-extended wings, and eſcort it along the etherial road to the realms of light, and to the tribunal of its Redeemer and Judge; who gave to this his faithful ſervant his full acquittance and applauſe, purged away the ſpots and ſtains of blamable infirmity and imperfection, which ſtill adhered to him as a ſon of Adam's fallen race, and then adorned him with a *crown* of *glory* and a *robe* of *light*. They ſaw the ſaints, the holy martyrs, heroes and angels, thoſe bleſſed inhabitants of the bright abodes, welcome this new-made angel to their bliſsful ſociety, as a partner and aſſociate with themſelves in all that celeſtial liberty, perfection, bleſſedneſs and glory which will beautify, improve and enrapture their immortal natures throughout all ages, world without end.

THE

THE

ADDRESS

OF THE LATE

George Washington,

WHEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

On declining being considered

A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

THE period for a new election of a Citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I BEG you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency

ciency of grateful reſpect for your paſt kindneſs: But am ſupported by a full conviction that the ſtep is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your ſuffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform ſacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a defference for what appeared to be your deſire. I conſtantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, conſiſtently with motives, which I was not at liberty to diſregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The ſtrength of my inclination to do this, previous to the laſt election, had even led to the preparation of an addreſs to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical poſture of affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of perſons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I REJOICE, that the ſtate of your concerns external as well as internal, no longer renders the purſuit of inclination incompatible with the ſentiment of duty or propriety: And am perſuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my ſervices, that in the preſent circumſtances of our country, you will not diſapprove my determination to retire.

THE impreſſions with which I firſt undertook the arduous truſt, were explained on the proper occaſion. In the diſcharge of this truſt, I will only ſay, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and adminiſtration of the government, the beſt exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable.

Not

Not unconſcious, in the outſet, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps ſtill more in the eyes of others, has ſtrengthened the motives to diffidence of myſelf; and every day the increaſing weight of years admoniſhes me more and more, that the ſhade of retirement is as neceſſary to me, as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that if any circumſtances have given peculiar value to my ſervices, they were temporary, I have the conſolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political ſcene, patriotiſm does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to ſuſpend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; ſtill more for the ſtedfaſt confidence with which it has ſupported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifeſting my inviolable attachment by ſervices faithful and perſevering, though in uſefulneſs unequal to my zeal. If benefits have reſulted to our country from theſe ſervices, let it always be remembered to our praiſe, & as an inſtructive example in our annals, that under circumſtances in which the paſſions, agitated in every direction, were liable to miſlead, amidſt appearances ſometimes dubious,—viciſſitudes of fortune, often diſcouraging in ſituations, in which not unfrequently want of ſucceſs has countenanced the ſpirit of criticiſm—the conſtancy of your ſupport was the eſſential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea I ſhall

carry it with me to my grave, as a ſtrong incitement to unceaſing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choiceſt tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free Conſtitution, which is the work of your hands, may be ſacredly maintained—that its adminiſtration in every department may be ſtamped with wiſdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happineſs of the people of theſe ſtates, under the auſpices of liberty, may be made complete, by ſo careful a preſervation and ſo prudent a uſe of this bleſſing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applauſe, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a ſtranger to it.

Here perhaps, I ought to ſtop. But ſolicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehenſion of danger natural to that ſolicitude, urge me on an occaſion like the preſent, to offer to your ſolemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, ſome ſentiments which are the reſult of much reflection, of no inconſiderable obſervation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. Theſe will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only feel in them the diſintereſted warnings of a parting friend, who can poſſibly have no perſonal motive to bias his counſel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my ſentiments on a former and not diſſimilar occaſion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is neceſſary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government which conſtitutes you one

people, is alſo now dear to you. It is juſtly ſo ; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real Independence, the ſupport of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad ; of your ſafety ; of your proſperity ; of that very liberty which you ſo highly prize. But, as it is eaſy to foreſee, that from different cauſes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortreſs, againſt which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be moſt conſtantly and actively (though often covertly and inſidiouſly) directed, it is of infinite moment that you ſhould properly eſtimate the immenſe value of your National Union, to your collective and individual happineſs ; that you ſhould cheriſh a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment to it ; accuſtoming yourſelves to think and ſpeak of it as of the palladium of your political ſafety and proſperity, watching for its preſervation with jealous anxiety ; diſcountenancing whatever may ſuggeſt even a ſuſpicion that it can in any event be abandoned ; and indignantly frowning upon the firſt dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the reſt, or to enfeeble the ſacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of ſympathy and intereſt. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, muſt always exalt the juſt pride of patriotiſm, more than any appellation derived from local diſcriminations. With ſlight ſhades of difference you have the ſame religion, manners, habits and

political principles. You have in a common cauſe fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you poſſeſs are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, ſufferings and ſucceſſes.

But theſe conſiderations however powerfully they addreſs themſelves to your ſenſibility, are greatly outweighed by thoſe which apply more immediately to your intereſt. Here every portion of our country finds the moſt commanding motives for carefully guarding and preſerving the union of the whole.

The North in an unreſtrained intercourſe with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the production of the latter, great additional reſources of maritime and commercial enterpriſe, and precious materials of manufacturing induſtry. The South in the ſame intercourſe, benefitting by the agency of the North, ſees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the ſeamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nouriſh and increaſe the general maſs of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime ſtrength, to which itſelf is unequally adapted. The Eaſt in a like intercourſe with the Weſt, already finds, and in the progreſſive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The Weſt derives from the Eaſt ſupplies requiſite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of ſtill greater conſequence it muſt of neceſſity owe the ſecure enjoyment of indiſpenſable outlets for its own productions to

the weight, influence, and the future maritime ſtrength of the Atlantic ſide of the union, directed by an indiſſoluble community of intereſt as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the Weſt can hold this eſſential advantage whether derived from its own ſeparate ſtrength, or from an apoſtate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, muſt be intrinſically precarious.

WHILE then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular intereſt in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united maſs of means and efforts, greater ſtrength, greater reſource, proportionably greater ſecurity, from external danger, a leſs frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of ineſtimable value! they muſt derive from union an exemption from thoſe broils and wars between themſelves, which ſo frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the ſame government; which their own rivalſhips alone would be ſufficient to produce, but which oppoſite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would ſtimulate and imbitter.—Hence likewiſe they will avoid the neceſſity of thoſe overgrown military eſtabliſhments, which under any form of government are inauſpicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hoſtile to Republican Liberty: In this ſenſe it is, that your union ought to be conſidered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preſervation of the other.

Theſe conſiderations ſpeak a perſuaſive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of a patriotic deſire, Is there a doubt, whether a common govern-

ment can embrace ſo large a ſphere ?—Let experience ſolve it. To liſten to mere ſpeculation in ſuch a caſe were criminal. We are authoriſed to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the reſpective ſubdiviſions, will afford a happy iſſue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and a full experiment With ſuch powerful and obvious motives to the union, affecting all parts of our country, while experiment ſhall not have demonſtrated its impracticability, there will always be reaſon to diſtruſt the patriotiſm of thoſe, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the cauſes which may diſturb our union, it occurs as matter of ſerious concern, that any ground ſhould be furniſhed for characteriſing parties, by Geographical diſcriminations—Northern and Southern —Atlantic and Weſtern ; whence deſigning men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local intereſts and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular diſtricts, is to miſrepreſent the opinions and aims of other diſtricts. You cannot ſhield yourſelves too much againſt the jealouſies and heart burnings which ſpring from theſe miſrepreſentations ; they tend to render alien to each other thoſe who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our weſtern country have lately had a uſeful leſſon on this head :- They have ſeen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the univerſal ſatisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a deciſive proof how unfounded were the ſuſpicions propagated among them, of

a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their intereſts in regard to the Miſſiſippi; they have been witneſſes to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which ſecure to them every thing they could deſire, in reſpect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their proſperity. Will it not be their wiſdom to rely for the preſervation of theſe advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to thoſe adviſers, if ſuch they are, who would ſever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indiſpenſable. No alliances, however ſtrict between the parts can be an adequate ſubſtitute; they will inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced—Senſible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your firſt eſſay, by the adoption of a conſtitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full inveſtigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the diſtribution of its powers, uniting ſecurity with energy, and containing within itſelf a proviſion for its own amendment, has a juſt claim to your confidence and your ſupport. Reſpect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquieſcence in its meaſures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The baſis of our political ſyſtems is the right of the people to make and to alter their conſtitutions of government. But the

conſtitution which at any time exiſts, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is ſacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to eſtabliſh government, preſuppoſes the duty of every individual to obey the eſtabliſhed government.

ALL obſtructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and aſſociations, under whatever plauſible character, with the real deſign to direct, controul, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the conſtituted authorities, are deſtructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They ſerve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a ſmall but artful and enterpriſing minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public adminiſtration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction rather than the organ of conſiſtent and wholeſome plans digeſted by common councils and modified by mutual intereſts.

HOWEVER combinations or aſſociations of the above deſcription, may now and then anſwer popular ends, they are likely in the courſe of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men, will be enabled to ſubvert the power of the people, and to uſurp for themſelves the reins of government; deſtroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjuſt dominion.

TOWARDS the preſervation of your government, and the permanency of your preſent happy ſtate, it is requiſite not only that you ſteadily diſcountenance irregular

oppoſition to its acknowledged authority, but alſo that you reſiſt with care, the ſpirit of innovation upon its principles, however ſpecious the pretexts. One method of aſſault may be to effect, in the forms of the conſtitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the ſyſtem, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at leaſt as neceſſary to fix the true character of government, as of other human inſtitutions; that experience is the ſureſt ſtandard, by which to teſt the real tendency of the exiſting conſtitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypotheſis and opinion, expoſes to perpetual change, from the endleſs variety of hypotheſis and opinion; and remember, eſpecially, that for the efficient management of your common intereſt, in a country ſo extenſive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is conſiſtent with the perfect ſecurity of liberty is indiſpenſable. Liberty itſelf will find in ſuch a government, with powers properly diſtributed and adjuſted, its ſureſt guardian. It is, indeed, little elſe than a name, where the government is too feeble to withſtand the enterpriſes of faction, to confine each member of the ſociety within the limits preſcribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the ſecure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of perſon and property.

I HAVE already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the ſtate, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical diſcriminations. Let me now take a more comprehenſive view and warn you in the moſt ſolemn manner againſt the baneful effects of a ſpirit of party, generally.

This ſpirit, unfortunately, is inſeparable from our nature, having its root in the ſtrongeſt paſſions of the human mind. It exiſts under different ſhapes in all governments—more or leſs ſtifled, controuled, or repreſſed; but in thoſe of the popular form, it is ſeen in its greateſt rankneſs and is truly their worſt enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, ſharpened by the ſpirit of revenge, natural to party diſſention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the moſt horrid enormities, is itſelf a frightful deſpotiſm—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent deſpotiſm. The diſorders and miſeries, which reſult, gradually incline the minds of men to ſeek ſecurity and repoſe in the abſolute power of an individual; and ſooner or later the chief of ſome prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this diſpoſition to the purpoſes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheleſs ought not to be entirely out of ſight) the common and continual miſchiefs of the ſpirit of party are ſufficient to make it the intereſt and duty of a wiſe people to diſcourage and reſtrain it.

It ſerves always to diſtract the Puplic Councils and enfeeble the Public Adminiſtration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealouſies and falſe alarms; kindles the animoſity of one part againſt another, foments occaſionally riot and inſurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated acceſs to the government itſelf through the channels of party paſſions. Thus the policy and will of

one country are ſubjected to the policy and will of another.

THERE is an opinion that parties in free countries are uſeful checks upon the adminiſtration of the government, and ſerve to keep alive the ſpirit of Liberty.—This within certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchial caſt, patriotiſm may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the ſpirit of party. But in thoſe of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a ſpirit not to be encouraged.—From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that ſpirit for every ſalutary purpoſe. And there being conſtant danger of exceſs, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion, to mitigate and aſſuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its burſting into a flame, leaſt inſtead of warming it ſhould conſume.

IT is important likewiſe, that the habits of thinking in a free country, ſhould inſpire caution in thoſe entruſted with its adminiſtration, to confine themſelves within their reſpective conſtitutional ſpheres, avoiding in the exerciſe of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The ſpirit of encroachment tends to conſolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real deſpotiſm. A juſt eſtimate of that love of power, and proneneſs to abuſe it, which predominates in the human heart is ſufficient to ſatisfy us of the truth of this poſition. The neceſſity of reciprocal checks in the exerciſe of the political power; by dividing and diſtributing it into different depoſitories, and conſtituting each the guardian of he public weal againſt invaſions by the others, has been

evinced by experiments ancient and modern; ſome of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preſerve them muſt be as neceſſary as to inſtitute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the diſtribution or modification of the conſtitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the conſtitution deſignates—But let there be no change by uſurpation; for though this, in one inſtance, may be the inſtrument of good, it is the cuſtomary weapon by which free governments are deſtroyed—The precedent muſt always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or tranſient benefit which the uſe can at any time yield.

Of all the diſpoſitions and habits which lead to political proſperity, Religion and Morality are indiſpenſable ſupports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotiſm, who would labor to ſubvert theſe great pillars of human happineſs, theſe firmeſt props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man ought to reſpect and to cheriſh them.—A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it ſimply be aſked, where is the ſecurity for property, for reputation, for life, if the ſenſe of religious obligation deſert the oaths which are the inſtruments of inveſtigation in Courts of Juſtice?—And let us with caution indulge the ſuppoſition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded of the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar ſtructure, reaſon and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in excluſion of religious principles.

It is ſubſtantially true, that virtue or morality is a

neceſſary ſpring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or leſs force to every ſpecies of free government. Who that is a ſincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to ſhake the foundation of the fabric ?

PROMOTE, then, as an object of primary importance, inſtitutions for the general diffuſion of knowledge. In proportion as the ſtructure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is eſſential that public opinion ſhould be enlightened.

As a very important ſource of ſtrength and ſecurity, cheriſh public credit—One method of preſerving it is to uſe it as ſparingly as poſſible ; avoiding occaſions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering alſo that timely diſburſements to prepare for dangers, frequently prevent much greater diſburſements to repel it. Avoiding likewiſe the accumulation of debt, not only by ſhunning occaſions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to diſcharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occaſioned, not ungenerouſly throwing upon poſterity the burthen which we ourſelves ought to bear. The execution of theſe maxims belongs to your repreſentatives, but it is neceſſary that public opinion ſhould co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is eſſential that you ſhould practically bear in mind that towards the payment of debts there muſt be revenue ,—that to have revenue there muſt be taxes—and none can be deviſed which are not more or leſs inconvenient and unpleaſant—that the intrinſic embarraſſment inſeperable from the ſelection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties)—ought to be a deciſive motive for a candid conſtruction

of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a ſpirit of acquieſcence in the meaſures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Obſerve good faith and juſtice towards all nations—cultivate peace and harmony with all—Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and (at no diſtant period) a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted juſtice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the courſe of time and things, the fruits of ſuch a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be loſt by a ſteady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with Virtue? The experiment, at leaſt, is recommended by every ſentiment which enobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impoſſible by its vices?

In the execution of ſuch a plan, nothing is more eſſential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies againſt particular nations, and paſſionate attachments for others ſhould be excluded; and that in the place of them, juſt and amicable feelings towards all ſhould be cultivated.—The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondneſs, is in ſome degree a ſlave: It is a ſlave to its animoſity or to its affection, either of which is ſufficient to lead it aſtray from its duty and its intereſt. Antipathy in one nation againſt another diſpoſes each more readily to offer inſult and injury, to lay hold of ſlight cauſes of umbrage, and to be haugh-

ty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occaſions of diſpute occur.

Hence frequent colliſions, obſtinate, envenomed and bloody conteſts. The nation, prompted by ill will and reſentment, ſometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the beſt calculations of policy. The government ſometimes participates in the national propenſity, and adopts through paſſion what reaſon would reject; at other times, it makes the animoſity of the nation ſubſervient to projects of hoſtility inſtigated by pride, ambition and other ſiniſter and pernicious motives. The peace often, ſometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewiſe, a paſſionate attachment of one nation for another induces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nations facilitating the illuſion of an imaginary common intereſt, in caſes where no real common intereſt exiſts, and infuſing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or juſtification. It leads alſo to conceſſions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the conceſſions; by unneceſſarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealouſy, ill-will, a diſpoſition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are witheld:—And it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens (who devote themſelves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or ſacrifice the intereſts of their own country, without odium, ſometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous ſenſe of obligation, a commendable deference for public opin-

ion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the baſe or fooliſh compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, ſuch attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domeſtic factions, to practice the arts of ſeduction, to miſlead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils; ſuch an attachment of a ſmall or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the ſatellite of the latter.

Against the inſidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealouſy of a free people ought to be conſtantly awake; ſince hiſtory and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the moſt baneful foes of Republican Government.—But that jealouſy to be uſeful muſt be impartial; elſe it becomes the inſtrument of the very influence to be avoided, inſtead of a defence againſt it. Exceſſive partiality for one foreign nation, and exceſſive diſlike of another, cauſe thoſe whom they actuate to ſee danger only on one ſide, and ſerve to veil and even ſecond the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may reſiſt the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become ſuſpected and odious; while its tools and dupes uſurp the applauſe and confidence of the people, to ſurrender their intereſts.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as poſſible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us ſtop.

EUROPE has a ſet of primary intereſts, which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence ſhe muſt be engaged in frequent controverſies, the cauſes of which are eſſentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore, it muſt be unwiſe in us to implicate ourſelves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary viciſſitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and colliſions of her friendſhips, or enmities.

OUR detached ſituation, invites and enables us to purſue a different courſe. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take ſuch an attitude as will cauſe the neutrality we may at any time reſolve upon, to be ſcrupulouſly reſpected; when belligerent nations, under the impoſſibility of making acquiſitions upon us will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may chooſe peace or war, as our intereſts, guided by juſtice, ſhall counſel.

WHY forego the advantages of ſo peculiar a ſituation? Why quit our own to ſtand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our deſtiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and proſperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalſhip, intereſt, humour or caprice?

'TIS our true policy to ſteer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; ſo far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it: for let me not be underſtood as capable of patronizing infidelity to exiſting engagements. I hold the maxim no leſs applicable to public than to private affairs, that honeſty is always the

beſt policy. I repeat it therefore, let thoſe engagements be obſerved in their genuine ſenſe. But in my opinion, it is unneceſſary and would be unwiſe to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourſelves, by ſuitable eſtabliſhments, on a reſpectable defenſive poſture, we may ſafely truſt to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourſe with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and intereſt. But even our commercial policy ſhould hold an equal and impartial hand; neither ſending or granting excluſive favors or preferences—conſulting the natural courſe of things; diffuſing and diverſifying by gentle means the ſtreams of commerce, but forcing nothing; eſtabliſhing, with powers ſo diſpoſed, in order to give trade a ſtable courſe to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to ſupport them; conventional rules of intercourſe, the beſt that preſent circumſtances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience or circumſtances ſhall dictate; conſtantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for diſintereſted favors from another: that it muſt pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by ſuch acceptance, it may place itſelf in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. 'Tis an illuſion which experience muſt cure, which a juſt pride ought to diſcard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefits, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d April, 1795, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend on me, to maintain it with moderation.

The conſiderations which reſpect the right to hold this conduct, it is not neceſſary on this occaſion to detail. I will only obſerve, that according to my underſtanding of the matter, that right, ſo far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which juſtice and humanity impoſe on every nation, in caſes in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of intereſt for obſerving that conduct will beſt be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to ſettle and mature its yet recent inſtitutions, and to progreſs without interruption, to that degree of ſtrength and conſiſtency, which is neceſſary to give it, humanly ſpeaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my adminiſtration, I am unconſcious of intentional error: I am nevertheleſs too ſenſible of my defects not to think it probable that I have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beſeech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I ſhall alſo carry with me the hope that my country will never ceaſe to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its ſervice, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be conſigned to oblivion, as myſelf muſt ſoon be to the manſions of reſt.

RELYING on its kindneſs in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is ſo natural to a man who views in it the native ſoil of himſelf and his progenitors for ſeveral generations; I anticipate with pleaſing expectation that retreat, in which I promiſe myſelf to realize, without alloy, the ſweet enjoyment of partaking in the midſt of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward as I truſt, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

George Washington.

United States, 17th September, 1796.

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